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31 October 1980

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 20/80)



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USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ANALYZES U.S. FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING

Moscow SShA: INFORMATSIYA I VNESHNYAYA POLITIKA in Russian 1979 signed to press 7 Mar 79 pp 1-2, 309-311

[Table of contents and brief description of book by P. G. Bogdanov and A. A. Kokoshin prepared under auspices of the Institute of the USA and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Excerpts] Title Page:

Title: SShA: INFORMATSIYA I VNESHNYAYA POLITIKA (The U.S.: Information and Foreign Policy)

Publisher: "Nauka"

Place and year of publication: Moscow, 1979

Signed to Press Date: 7 March 1979

Number of Copies Published: 4,550

Number of Pages: 311

Brief Description:

In this monograph the role of information in working out and adopting U.S. foreign policy decisions is examined. The special features of information practice in the State Department and other U.S. foreign policy departments are critically analyzed, as are the types and forms of information that circulate in the state machinery and their role in foreign policy activities.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON PROBLEMS OF INTERSTATE COOPERATION

Moscow SSSR I PROBLEMY MEZHGOSUDARSTVENNOGO SOTRUDNICHESTVA in Russian
1980 signed to press 24 Apr 80 pp 1-2, 247-248

[Table of contents and brief description of book edited by V.I. Popov,
I.D. Ostoya-Ovsyaniy, and I.G. Usachev and prepared by collective of the
Scientific-Research Department of the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR
Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

[Excerpts] Title Page:

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USSR and Problems of Interstate Cooperation)
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Signed to Press Date: 24 Apr 1980

Number of Copies Published: 6000

Number of Pages: 248

Brief Description:

This book examines the political, economic and legal aspects of interstate
cooperation, its basic goals, methods and means. An important spot is
devoted to the role of interstate cooperation in the course of restruc-
turing international relations.

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REGIONAL

KAZAKHSTAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT UNDER SOCIALISM

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 8, Aug 80 pp 44-51

[Article by M. S. Azhenov (Alma-Ata): "Development of the Kazakhstan Social Structure Under Socialism"]

[Excerpt] Socialist social structure in the country as a whole and in Kazakhstan in particular evolved during the late 1930's as a result of implementation of Lenin's plan for building socialism: industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and cultural revolution. By this time, all the exploiter classes and their remnants had been eliminated in the country, as was secured in the 1936 Constitution. The new social structure of our society consisted of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the popular intelligentsia. All elements of the social structure of Soviet society -- classes and social groups -- now became socialist by their very nature. A unotypical social structure evolved in all the union and national republics.

The uniformity of the social structure did not, however, eliminate certain peculiarities of it in the individual republics and regions of our country. Of course, these features did not touch on the essential characteristic of the social structure. Nonetheless, there exist in the different regions and union republics definite difference both quantitative and qualitative in nature which reflect the historical features of the shaping of the social structure of the populations of particular regions, the unique position of that region in the unionwide division of labor.

One feature of the social structure of the population of Kazakhstan is the comparatively higher proportion of the working class in it and the lower proportion of the kolkhoz peasantry as compared to the union as a whole (in 1970, workers comprised 56.7 percent of the entire population and 68.1 percent of the population of Kazakhstan; figures for the kolkhoz peasantry were 20.5 and 8.2 percent, respectively).

Growth in the size of the working class is characteristic of the entire country, especially in the 1960's. But the working class has grown even faster in the republics of the Soviet east. The 1959 and 1970 censuses established

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the following indicators for that growth: Kazakh SSR -- from 58.4 to 66.3 percent, Uzbek SSR -- 39.2 to 45.7 percent, Kirghiz SSR -- 39.7 to 53.6 percent, Turkmen SSR -- 37.3 to 41.2 percent, Tajik SSR -- 29.1 to 42.0 percent.¹

In 1970, the working class comprised 66.3 percent of the entire employed population of the republic. That was the highest indicator in the Union as a whole. Even such industrially developed republics as the RSFSR and the Ukraine had lower proportions of the working class (61.6 and 51.8 percent).

The nationality composition of the republic's working class has been changing, the total number and proportion of Kazakhs having increased significantly over the last 40 years. The total number of Kazakh workers in the republic was 224,000 in 1939; it was 412,000 in 1959 and 823,000 in 1970.²

In the 1970's, the rates of quantitative growth in the working class were low in all the Union republics, including Kazakhstan. But nonetheless, more than 70 percent of the employed population is now in the working class, which is approximately 10 percent higher than the unionwide level. But in 1939, the proportion of the working class in the USSR as a whole and in Kazakhstan were nearly identical (33.5 and 33.8 percent). What has caused the outstripping rate of numerical growth in the working class of Kazakhstan?

Over the last 30-40 years, Kazakhstan has moved significantly ahead in terms of development of industry and agriculture.

In describing the state of industrial development of Kazakhstan since the adoption of the first Constitution of the Kazakh Republic in 1937, D. A. Kunayev noted that "literally everything that provided Kazakhstan with an opportunity to become a full-blooded, blossoming republic in an insoluble alliance of Soviet peoples changed.... Figuratively speaking, another 45 new Kazakhstans arose during that time, in terms of overall industrial output. Our industry now produces in eight days what it produced in all of 1937."³

The high rates of republic industrial development demanded increasingly more manpower. All union republics, and the Russian Federation in particular, were of enormous assistance in the industrial development of Kazakhstan. One manifestation of this assistance was the sending of experienced, skilled workers from other fraternal republics to the industrial enterprises and new

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1. "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya" [Census Results], Moscow, 1973, Vol 5, pp 26-33.
 2. See: A. Ishmukhamedov, "Rabochiy klass i nauchno-tekhnicheskaya intelligentsiya" [The Working Class and the Scientific-Technical Intelligence], Alma-Ata, 1977, p 51.
 3. D. A. Kunayev, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Articles and Speeches], Moscow, 1978, p 487.

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construction sites of Kazakhstan, which facilitated significantly reinforcing the republic's working class.

Another reason for the rapid increase in the number of people in the republic's working class was the mastering of the Virgin and long-fallow lands of Kazakhstan in the late 1950's. The Virgin Lands was the work and a creation of the entire Soviet people. "Developing the Virgin Lands," writes L. I. Brezhnev in his book "Tselina" [Virgin Lands], "is a great idea of the Communist Party, one whose implementation has helped, thinking in historical terms, instantaneously transform lifeless and wild, but abundant, steppes in the country's east into a region with a developed economy and high cultural standards."¹ Dozens of new sovkhozes were created in the empty expanses of the steppes. The influx of manpower into Kazakhstan from other union republics was at that time a massive undertaking. During just the first two years of mastering the Virgin Lands in Kazakhstan, 350,000 volunteers arrived from other republics. Mastering the Virgin Lands turned out to have a definite influence on changing the quantitative relationships between the classes and social groups in the republic's social structure.

In the 1950's and 1960's, the number of agricultural workers in the republic increased sharply. During those same years, the number of people in the kolkhoz peasantry decreased sharply, which was associated with the intensive transformation of kolkhozes into sovkhozes. The growth in the agrarian working class at the expense of decreasing the number of kolkhoz members was not, however, the main factor in structural changes in the social composition of the countryside. The organization and growth of new sovkhozes in the Virgin Lands and on long-fallow land played a more important role. For example, the total number of sovkhozes in the republic was 262 in 1950, 879 in 1960, 1,864 in 1975, and 2,035 in 1978. The average annual number of sovkhoz workers was 116,000 in 1950, 526,200 in 1960, 892,500 in 1975, and 966,900 in 1978. During the 1950-1978 period, the total number of sovkhoz workers increased more than nine-fold in the republic.²

At present, agricultural workers comprise nearly 25 percent of the republic's entire working class (not more than 10-12 percent for the USSR as a whole). Thus, the higher proportion of the working class in the social structure of the Kazakh republic as compared with the unionwide proportion is to be explained first of all by the accelerated growth in the size of the sovkhoz detachment in the working class under the unique conditions of mastering the Virgin Lands and long-fallow land of Kazakhstan due to the influx of manpower from other union republics.

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi, privetstviya, stat'i, vospominaniya" [On Lenin's Course. Speeches, Greetings, Articles, Recollections], Moscow, 1979, Vol 7, p 140.
2. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Kazakhstana v 1978 godu" [Kazakhstan Economy in 1978], Alma-Ata, 1979, p 99.

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The past 20 years have been characterized by a reduction in the numbers and proportion of the kolkhoz peasantry throughout the country. In 1959, kolkhoz members comprised 33.3 percent of the employed population of the USSR as a whole, but in 1978 -- only 11.5 percent. But this reduction has been especially noticeable in Kazakhstan: the proportion of kolkhoz members decreased more than four-fold here.

Nonetheless, during the 1970's this process slowed as compared to the 1960's. Whereas in 1959-1969 the proportion of kolkhoz members in the country decreased from 33.3 percent to 15.5 percent, that is, more than two-fold, in the 1970-1978 period it decreased by only four percent. This situation is to be explained by the fact that, first, kolkhozes became large, mechanized, economically strong farms in the 1970's, so their conversion into sovkhozes slowed and nearly stopped in individual regions. Second, the rate of migration of the rural population to the cities dropped somewhat, especially in the country's eastern regions. In Kazakhstan, for example, the total number of migrants had remained practically unchanged over the past decade. As concerns such republics as Moldavia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, however, the kolkhoz peasantry comprises quite a large part of their populations.

At the present stage, there are significant differences between urban and rural areas. These differences concern all areas of people's lives: the economy, culture, spiritual development, everyday life, material well-being, and so forth. The city is the economic, cultural and scientific center, and in many other regards it also has an advantage over the countryside. This attracts the rural population, especially young people. There are numerous objective and subjective reasons facilitating the migration of a portion of the population to the cities. According to 1979 Census data, the urban population increased by 27.6 million people over 1970, including 12 million through natural increment and 15.6 million through the conversion of rural centers into urban ones and due to movement of rural residents to the cities. And although the natural population increment in rural areas was 8.7 million in the period between censuses, the rural population did not increase, due to the reasons indicated, but rather decreased by 6.9 million.¹

The reduction in the proportion of the rural population also occurred in Kazakhstan, although considerably more slowly here than in the country's western republics, but the total rural population in the republic not only did not decrease during the period between the last two censuses, but rather it increased. In 1970, the republic's rural population was 6,471,000 people, but it was 6,764,000 people at the end of 1979. Thus, the annual increment in republic rural population averaged more than 33,000 people during the 1970-1978 period.²

1. See: PRAVDA, 22 April 1979.

2. See: "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda" [1979 Census Results], Vol 5, pp 8-15.

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And the social structure of the country's rural population is also somewhat different than in the country's western republics. Whereas the percentage of kolkhoz members in the social structure of the rural population of other republics fluctuates from 35 to 70 percent, in Kazakhstan the kolkhoz peasantry comprises only 15.4 percent of the rural population, and 84.6 percent are workers and employees.¹ Thus, the growth in the rural population of Kazakhstan has occurred primarily in the sovkhos detachment of the working class.

The slight increase in the rural population of Kazakhstan between the last two censuses is to be explained first of all by the comparatively high natural increment in our republic as compared with the European portion of the Union. For example, the birth rate per 1,000 people for the country as a whole in rural areas was 20.1 in 1978, while it was 28 in Kazakhstan.² Second, as statistical data show, the migration of rural residents to the cities was lower in Kazakhstan than for the USSR as a whole. It should be taken into account that Kazakhstan has become one of the basic grain-growing and stockraising regions in the Union. The republic provides the country with more than a billion pounds of commodity grain annually. More and more grain sovkhoses are being created, especially in the republic's northern and eastern regions. Worker wages on these sovkhoses are higher than in other regions of the country. Good living conditions, material well-being and favorable conditions for acquiring agricultural specialties, for quality recreation, and so forth, have been created for workers on the Virgin Lands sovkhoses. These circumstances have a certain influence on the growth in the rural population, on securing young people in the villages.

But the growth in the rural population in Kazakhstan probably cannot be explained just by these reasons. Here, we encounter certain trends on a broader scale, the influence of a whole series of factors discovered relative to a broader geographic region. As is known, growth in the total size of the rural population over the past 10 years is characteristic of all Central Asian republics. In individual republics, such as the Tajik SSR for example, there has even been growth in the proportion of the rural population and a reduction in the proportion of the urban population. These demographic phenomena unquestionably demand additional research.

In Kazakhstan, as in every union republic, the size of the intelligentsia is growing. In Kazakhstan, the intelligentsia was formed during the years of building socialism. In prerevolutionary Kazakhstan, one very rarely encountered people with a higher or secondary special education, especially among the Kazakhs. The backward social structure of prerevolutionary Kazakhstan totally lacked such strata of the intelligentsia as engineers, technicians and scientists. Literacy among the Kazakhs was less than two percent.

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1. See: "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda" [Results of the 1970 Census], Vol 5, pp 8-15.
 2. See: "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 godu" [USSR National Economy in 1978], Moscow, 1979, p 25.

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The establishment of Soviet power in Kazakhstan was the start of a genuine cultural revolution, the start of the formation of a socialist people's intelligentsia. Literacy among the Kazakh population had already risen to 3.1 percent in 1920; in 1926 it had reached 10 percent, and by 1930 -- 37 percent.¹

In the 1930's, a number of higher and secondary academic institutions had been created in Kazakhstan and were training numerous specialists in various branches of the national economy, science and culture.

In the post-war years, all the basic occupational detachments of the intelligentsia grew quite rapidly in the republic. In 1940, the total size of the intelligentsia, plus employees, in the republic was 283,000 people, and in 1978 -- 1,647,000, that is, an increase of nearly six-fold during those years. The overwhelming majority of those employed at mental labor are people with higher or secondary special educations, that is, specialists with degrees. In 1970, 340,200 degree-holding specialists with higher or secondary special educations worked in the republic national economy, and in 1978 -- 1,207,000.

Under present conditions, growth in the number of people with higher or secondary special educations is an objective law connected with the development of the scientific and technical revolution and with the intellectualization of labor activity. Growth in the number of people of intellectual labor testifies to the continuous growth in the potential of developed socialism. In the 1979-1980 academic year, 54 higher and 223 secondary special academic institutions were functioning in Kazakhstan, training 251,400 VUZ students and 260,200 tekhnikum students. Upwards of 100,000 degree-holding specialists enter the republic national economy annually from the VUZ's and tekhnikums.

Profound qualitative changes are currently occurring in the development of the social structure of Soviet society. Qualitative changes in the social groups of our society are understood to mean first of all their transition to a higher degree of qualitative maturity.

"The qualitative maturity of social groups" is quite a broad and complex concept which includes all components of a qualitative description of the representatives of a particular social group: skill, occupational training, level of education and culture, material well-being, level of consciousness, sociopolitical activeness, and so on.

The modern socialist national economy is experiencing a high demand for skilled workers. Growth in the skill of the working class is the order of the day.

1. See: D. A. Kunayev, "Sovetskiy Kazakhstan" [Soviet Kazakhstan], Moscow, 1978, p 95.

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As a whole, the skill level of the Kazakhstan working class lags somewhat behind the unionwide level. This is evidently to be explained by the fact that one-fourth of the republic's working class are agricultural workers, who thus far have a lower skill level than workers in industry, transport, construction and other industrial branches of the national economy.

At the same time, the data from specific sociological research show that the educational level of workers in individual regions of Kazakhstan is higher than the average indicator for the Union. According to sociological research data, the average level of education of workers at various industrial and construction enterprises in Alma-Ata in 1976 fluctuated from 9.0 to 9.4 grades. The average level of education of workers at the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine in 1976 was 9.7 grades, at the Kustanay Worsteds Combine -- 9.5, and at the Chinkent Lead Plant -- 9.3 grades.¹

An important factor determining cultural growth in individual social strata is the shaping of subjective stimuli for introducing representatives of a given social stratum to culture (understanding the occupational, economic and sociopolitical necessity of education, ideological-psychological directions to master culture) and the inclusion of these aims in the system of individual needs. Sociological research done by R. A. Klesheva with Karaganda workers revealed that 45 percent of those surveyed linked higher education with growth in the worker's production-technical skills, opening up opportunities for occupational advancement, a better skill category, acquiring a new specialty (12.1 percent), improving their vocational-technical education (16 percent), servicing complex and more interesting equipment (16.8 percent), and 23 percent of those surveyed think that raising one's overall educational level facilitates qualitative change in the worker's status, as it enables him to participate in managing production, in public work, in technical creativity.

The sociopolitical activeness of the working class is growing in socialist society. There is not one sphere of sociopolitical life in Soviet society in which the working class has not played a decisive role. This is expressed especially vividly in worker participation in managing the state and production, in the work of public organizations. Given the nationwide state, the working class remains the leading political force. This is borne out by the growth in the proportion of the working class in the representative organs of state power, in the Soviets. Workers comprised 59.2 percent of the deputies of the local Soviets elected in Kazakhstan on 24 February 1980 and 43.3 percent of the deputies to the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, also elected then.

However, the working class is nonhomogeneous in terms of its social structure. There are in the working class strata and groups which are advanced, developed and less-developed in terms of occupational-cultural, political

1. See: "Nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i dukhovnyy mir cheloveka" [The Scientific and Technical Revolution and the Spiritual World of Man], Alma-Ata, 1979, p 138.

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and social level. Gradual elevation of the backward strata of the workers to the level of the leading strata is a law of development of the modern Soviet working class. This process is characterized by an acceleration of rates and leads to an increasingly qualitative improvement in the composition of the working class.

Profound qualitative changes are also occurring in the kolkhoz peasantry and in the intelligentsia, among employees. In Kazakhstan, the numbers and proportions of kolkhoz members in the social structure of society are not high, but they play an essential role in the economic, sociopolitical and cultural life of the republic. In agriculture, many new occupations associated with mechanized labor have appeared as scientific and technical progress has developed, and the reverse is true: a number of manual-labor occupations have disappeared and are disappearing. The numbers of tractor and vehicle drivers, combine operators and other kolkhoz members associated with operating machinery have increased significantly. In the main, Kazakhstan kolkhozes are economically powerful agricultural enterprises in which people work at the most diverse occupations. At present, more than 20 percent of all kolkhoz members are machine operators, tractor and vehicle drivers and combine operators. The educational level of agricultural laborers is constantly rising.

What motives do kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers have for acquiring an education? According to sociological research data from surveys done at a number of kolkhozes and soykhozes, 22.2 percent of those surveyed indicated a desire to improve their skills, 17.2 percent wanted to know more, 12.9 percent were trying not to fall behind others, 6.2 percent intended to enroll in a VUZ or tekhnikum, eight percent indicated production requirements, five percent indicated the public opinion of the collective, and so forth. Only 7.2 percent indicated that they were prompted to improve their education as a way to increase their wages.¹

As we see, the bulk of the agricultural laborers view acquiring an education as a social and spiritual value. The Soviet countryside has made a very large leap, from illiteracy to the heights, in the field of education. This especially applies to the Kazakh auls [mountain villages], where 60 years ago it was hard to find people who knew how to read and write. The republic's villages and auls now have quite a few people with higher or secondary special education. In 1977, some 3,800 people with higher educations and 8,200 with secondary special educations were working on 404 republic

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1. See: S. N. Soskin, "Sotsial'naya struktura sela i narodnoye obrazovaniye" [Village Social Structure and Public Education], Alma-Ata, 1979. A comparison of these data with corresponding data given above for the working class of Kazakhstan reveals certain differences in the actual status, both from the viewpoint of the system of objective production, social and cultural-personal conditions of their daily lives, and from the viewpoint of the subjective aims being actualized in this everyday living and shaping concepts of "ideal" conditions for effecting it.

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kolkhozes.¹ This means that on average, each republic kolkhoz accounts for 33 people with higher or secondary special educations.

The qualitative composition of the intelligentsia is improving. This is expressed in growth in the general and special knowledge of specialists, in growth in their educational level, in a strengthening of the creative aspects of their labor, in increased sociopolitical and labor activeness, increased communist consciousness, and so on. The intelligentsia has an enormous influence on growth in the educational level of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry; it facilitates eradicating important differences in the levels of education of the social groups. According to data from sociological research done by the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy and Law at individual Alma-Ata enterprises, the average level of education of engineering-technical and ordinary workers drew considerably closer during the 10 years from 1966 to 1975. For example, the average level of education of a worker at the Alma-Ata House-Building Combine in 1966 was 7.8 grades and for engineering-technical workers -- 11.4 grades, but in 1975 the figures were nine grades and 11.8 grades, respectively. In 1966, the gap between engineering-technical and ordinary workers in terms of educational level was 3.6 grades, but in 1975 -- 2.8 grades.

The sociopolitical activeness of the intelligentsia and employees is growing. The role of degree-holding specialists in party and state organs, in trade unions and other public organizations, is large. Of the 125,622 deputies elected to the republic's local Soviets in 1980, 39,683 were representatives of the intelligentsia: scientists, engineers, physicians, teachers, agricultural specialists and others. One-third of the membership in the republic party organization also represents the intelligentsia. The republic intelligentsia takes a most active part in the work of the primary party, trade-union, Komsomol and other public organizations.

The Kazakhstan intelligentsia is multinational. Most numerous are the Russian intelligentsia, then the Kazakhs and other nationalities. The proportion of Kazakhs in the intelligentsia is growing faster than that of representatives of other nations. For example, the number of Kazakhs among specialists with a higher education increased from 30,200 to 155,400 during the 1960-1977 period, that is, more than five-fold; the number of Russians increased 3.3-fold, Ukrainians -- 2.6-fold, and so on.²

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1. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Kazakhstana v 1977 godu" [Kazakhstan National Economy in 1977], Alma-Ata, 1978, p 140.
2. See: "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Kazakhstana v 1977 godu," p 141.

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REGIONAL

DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN-MOLDAVIAN INTERETHNIC MARRIAGES

Kiev NARODNA TVORCHIST' TA ETNOHRAFIYA in Ukrainian No 4, Jul-Aug 80 pp 36-42

[Article by H.M. Zakharova on: "Development of Ukrainian-Moldavian Inter-ethnic Marriages"]

[Text] One of the factors favoring an increase in socio-economic and cultural relations among nations, their all-around development and friendship is an increase in the number of interethnic marriages. They are most common in areas having a multinational population. Among these territories are the southern rayons of the Chernovitskaya Oblast of the Ukrainian SSR and the neighboring rayons of the Moldavian SSR where the two most numerous ethnic communities, Ukrainians and Moldavians, have been in direct contact for centuries. Age-old ethnic-cultural mutual relations have, to some extent, also affected the character of present-day interethnic processes in this territory.¹

This article is based on official statistical data and material obtained from ethni-sociological research conducted by the author between 1974-79 in Novoselitskiy Rayon, Chernovitskaya Oblast, Ukrainian SSR and Brichanskiy, Dondyushanskiy, Oknitskiy Rayons of the Moldavian SSR. The selection of these areas was determined by the goal of the research: The study of inter-ethnic relations, particularly interethnic marriages among the Ukrainian and Moldavian rural populations in the areas of direct contact, and the effect upon inter-ethnic processes by the nature of geographic distribution and the number of ethnic communities.

The spread of interethnic marriages is determined by specific historical and socio-economic conditions. Various factors affect its living character. In pre-Revolutionary Russia, for example, the growth of interethnic marriages was restricted by social-class and national oppression, confessional, language and other differences. With the formation of USSR, the emergence of socialist nations and expansion of international contacts new stimuli

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appeared for a rise in interethnic marriages. Methods of studying inter-ethnic marriages in the Soviet Union were first developed by Academician M.V. Ptukha who accomplished quite a lot in this area.²

The study of present-day interethnic marriages is tied to an activation of ethno-sociological research which began in the 1960's initiated by the Institute of Ethnography imeni M.M. Mikukho-Maklay of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Theoretical questions of interethnic marriages were researched in particular as well as their ethnic and social consequences.³

Later a number of generalizing publications appeared. These materials deal with elaborations on the theory of nations and contemporary ethnic processes, their typology and ethno-cultural tendencies in peoples' ethno-cultural development.

Inter-ethnic relations in the Ukraine, processes in the ethno-cultural development of peoples, the formation of inter-national features in the culture and life of workers in the UkSSR are discussed in V. I. Naulko's monograph "The Development of Inter-ethnic Processes in the Ukraine". In this work, the author views inter-ethnic marriages as one of the essential factors in the general rapprochement [zblyzhennya] of peoples. Individual articles describe research on the question of interrelations between ethnically mixed marriages and the internationalization in the mode of life of the republic's population. Demographers also contributed somewhat to the study of the development of interethnic marriages in the Ukraine.⁵

Research into interethnic relations is becoming more urgent in connection with the development and confirmation of new norms in the Soviet way of life. Of particular interest is the question of inter-ethnic contact of the two fraternal peoples--the Ukrainians and Moldavians--in areas of contiguous settlement, with consideration of the character of the population's socio-political and cultural development.

A methodological point of departure, when examining the significance of inter-ethnic marriage, is that, in this particular phenomenon, as with ethnic aspects of linguistic processes ([i.e.], changes in concepts concerning the native language and where it is used), the processes of change in ethnic identity is clearly traceable, particularly among the younger generation.

Without touching upon general tendencies of the ethno-social development of marriage-family relations, which are not the object of our concern, we will deal only with the influence of interethnic marriages on the development of Ukrainian-Moldavian interethnic relations, determining certain specifics in the development of mixed marriages caused by the character of the ethnic environment, and also their individual ethnic consequences, changes in concepts about ethnic membership, native language, etc.

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According to our studies of the spread of ethnically mixed and one nationality marriages in the rayons investigated, the former amount to 9.6 percent--more than their average number in the Ukrainian SSR and Moldavian SSR.⁶ Actually, real participation in ethnically mixed marriages in the investigated population is considerably wider, since in the previous generation (the parental) they also constituted a marked percentage: 6.8 percent among Ukrainians and 10.5 percent among the Moldavian population investigated.

Data given below reflect upon the character of ethnically mixed marriage "component" dependence upon the ethnic population structure. They show that ethnic environment specifics (national, other nationality) determine the specific weight of representatives of one or another nation entering into conjugal contacts. It should be noted, that the ethnic group compactness in the zone is relative and requires consideration of other nationality groups. Among the Ukrainians who live in their own ethnic environment, Ukrainian-Moldavian marriages amount to 2.2 percent, Ukrainian-Russian 1.2 percent; among Ukrainians who live in other than their own ethnic environment, Ukrainian-Moldavian marriages amount to 7.3 percent, Ukrainian-Russian 2.3 percent, Ukrainian-Bulgarian 1.0 percent. Among Moldavians who live in their own ethnic environment, most of the ethnically mixed marriages (4.5 percent) are Ukrainian-Moldavian; 2.4 percent are Moldavian-Russian; 0.3 percent Moldavian-Polish; among Moldavians living in a Ukrainian environment, Ukrainian-Moldavian marriages amount to 11.8 percent Moldavian-Russian 3.7 percent, Moldavian-Polish 0.2 percent and also 0.2 percent others (see Table 1).

Table 1

Ethnically mixed and one nationality marriages among Ukrainian and Moldavian population in relation to population ethnical structure [BOLDFACE] (in%) (based on data from rayon sections of ZAHS [registry office] and questionnaires)

TABLE 1

Marriages	Ukrainians		Moldavians	
	in their own ethnic environment	in other ethnic environment	in their own ethnic environment	in other ethnic environment
one nationality	96.6	89.5	92.3	83.9
ethnically mixed	3.4	10.5	7.7	16.1

The ethnic environment character has an immediate affect on marriages: The more possibilities exist for interethnic contacts the lower the indicators for one nationality marriages among the population investigated.

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In another ethnic environment, as indicated in the above data, more and more ethnically mixed marriages appear. Thus, ethnic environment character may be considered one of the more important factors in the development of ethnically mixed marriages for representatives of both ethnic groups.

Quite naturally, the most common interethnic marriages are among Ukrainians and Moldavians. The "ethnic structure" can be explained both by the character of the ethnic contact environment (Ukrainian and Moldavian settlements, specific weight of these nationalities in the ethnic composition of the population, etc.) and also by the closeness of cultural-life style, the presence of common features in economy. The above mentioned conditions are most influential in the selection of a marriage partner among the rural population. It should be noted that in the past these ethnic marriages were not hindered by the common religion, whereas among most nations religious factors negatively affected the development of mixed marriages.⁷

In ethnically mixed marriages an important place is occupied by marriages of the most numerous nationalities of these regions (Ukrainians, Moldavians) with Russians and representatives of other USSR nations. It is explained not only by population composition, but also by a membership in one political-economic complex, having a joint goal, strengthening of international contacts on the road to further growth of economic ties between individual republics, an increased general population mobility, an expansion of general Soviet culture elements, an all-around internationalization in worker living conditions, that is, a whole series of objective reasons. These factors favor the development of interethnic marriages, especially in rayons with a mixed ethnic population (see Table 2). In other ethnic surroundings the number of ethnically mixed marriages increased 3-4 times in only one generation.

Especially interesting are influences of interethnic marriages on the formation of ethnic awareness (ethnic membership, native language, the scales of language expansion in various spheres of people's activities etc.). According to our data, among Ukrainians who live in their own ethnic environment, the majority considered themselves part of the Ukrainian ethnic community, in a Moldavian environment of 72.2 percent Ukrainian-Moldavian marriages of the first (parental) generation 44.4 percent acknowledged a Ukrainian ethnic community membership whereas 27.8 percent called themselves Moldavians. Analogous changes in ethnic membership concepts in relation to the character of the ethnic environment may be observed also among Moldavians.

Changes in ethnic membership as a consequence of ethnically mixed marriages are reflected in studies of the third generation. These are young people from ethnically mixed families (children of the population studied), who had reached their sixteenth birthday. Almost all of those questioned

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in the mixed families of the Ukrainian ethnic group who live in their own ethnic environment considered themselves Ukrainian. In other ethnic environment--almost half of them, others [considered themselves] Moldavian or Russian.

Table 2

Ethnically mixed marriages in two generations of population in the rayons studied. [BOLDFACE] (%) (based on data from rayon sections of ZAHs [registry office], questionnaires)

Generation	Ukrainians		Moldavians	
	in their own ethnic environment	in other ethnic environment	in their own ethnic environment	in other ethnic environment
first	2.5	4.3	6.1	4.4
second	3.5	16.1	7.7	10.6

For Moldavians the correlation between ethnic environment, marriage and changes in ethnic self-awareness in the third generation on the whole remains the same. In their own environment, both in the ethnically mixed and one nationality families, the vast majority of young people (81.2 percent) considered themselves Moldavian, in other ethnic environment the correlation changed: 58.3 percent Moldavian, and 41.7 percent Ukrainian.

It is noticeable that there is a considerable percentage of young people from one nationality families (25.8 percent among Ukrainians, 20 percent among Moldavians) who indicated a nationality other than parental in another ethnic environment. This may be due to the actively operating ethnic processes taking place in the ethnic contact zone.

This material, in our opinion, provides a basis for considering the ethnic environment factor as one of the most important ones in the formation of ethnic membership concept. During a change in ethnic self-awareness those questioned most frequently consider themselves members of the ethnic community in which they live. Most often the "new" nationality (which is not the same as parental) is the result of the individual's realization that he belongs to the national majority represented in the ethnic composition of the surrounding population. An important role is also fulfilled by the administrative-political order, in which republic the settlement is, etc. In addition, as research has indicated, a specific role is played by the individual's concept of the social-cultural prestige of one or another nation.

Motives for membership in another nationality, especially Russian, given by some of the young people from ethnically mixed families and sometimes

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even from one nationality families, most frequently from Ukrainian-Russian and Moldavian-Russian, are, of course, the same as in the determination of native language. The wide use of the Russian language in all spheres of social life is evident here. The Russian language along with the native nationality language in Soviet Republics has become an important tool in interethnic association. It promotes an all-around development and friendship of the Soviet nations, is an important means of uniting socialist nations in the further development of a new historical community of people, the formation of international features in their cultural and everyday life. These changes in ethnic self-awareness, as our data indicate, are most often observed in another ethnic environment.

In addition to changes in ethnic membership concepts which occur, as a rule, in the following generation, language behavior undergoes serious transformations. The need arises for two languages, many languages, a changeover to the international association language, etc. To form a definite idea about the character of these changes, which reflect a specific interethnic processes content, it must be ascertained how the development of interethnic marriages influences language, one of the most important cultural ethnic components, especially the concept of native language, actual language behavior and how these concepts are modified by the marriage character (mixed, one nationality).

Out of all the varied social spheres of language association, we will only touch upon the family-everyday life type, since the family takes an active part in the socialization of youth and, especially, in the formation of its ethnic self-awareness.

According to Table 3, most individuals in an ethnically mixed marriage use two or three languages: Ukrainian, Moldavian, Russian in the family-everyday life sphere. The population in the rayons researched is mostly bilingual, utilizing widely Ukrainian and Russian, Moldavian and Russian languages in all spheres of social life; this is also supported by data from the All-Union 1970 Census. However, it is evident here that in ethnically mixed marriages the indicators for two or three language use are the largest (see Table 3), that is, there exists an interrelationship between ethnic contact environment, development of interethnic marriages and two or multilanguage use.

The "one language" issue especially in ethnically mixed families should not be taken literally. Our observations indicate that when one marriage partner in the family switches to the language of the other, he still knows his own language and considers it native. In individual cases, the language in the family may not be the same as nationality membership, for example, when the father's family was also ethnically mixed or certain transformations of actual language behavior took place earlier. In any case the

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concept "one language" should not be considered unconditional since the second language (and sometimes even third) may be used, for example, in a production sphere where functional possibilities are much wider than in family-everyday life.

Table 3

Use of second and third language in family-everyday life sphere in relation to marriage character. [BOLDFACE] (based on data from rayon ZAHs sections, data from village soviets, questionnaires)

Use of Languages	Ukrainians				Moldavians			
	in their own ethnic environment		in other ethnic environment		in their own ethnic environment		in other ethnic environment	
	mixed marriage	one nat.	mixed marr.	one nat.	mixed marr.	one nat.	mixed marr.	one nat.
Use second and third	100	10.9	35.3	30.1	51.7	4.5	90.9	11.3
Do not use second or third	---	89.1	64.7	69.9	48.3	95.5	9.1	88.7

In an ethnic contact environment, depending on the marriage character, certain changes occur also in the recognition of one or another language as native. Among the Ukrainian population studied, in ethnically mixed marriages, 28.5 percent named Ukrainian as native, which, in fact, does not coincide with their nationality membership; among the Moldavians 24.1 percent, whereas such deviations were not noted in one nationality marriages.

In summary, it should be noted, first of all, that the development of inter-ethnic marriages, especially in the ethnic contact zone studied, is one manifestation of a general process of interethnic friendship of nations in our country. However, there are specific features here which are peculiar to the immediate interaction of Ukrainians and Moldavians, the most numerous ethnic communities in this territory. Along with general Soviet factors (social-economic development, the formation of a more uniform social-class structure of society, an increase in population mobility, formation of general Soviet international features in culture and everyday life), which promote the strengthening of the inter-ethnic friendship process, local factors are involved also caused by the character of the geographic distribution of ethnic communities, their specific weight in the ethnic population

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composition, old historical and ethno-cultural contacts, the development of common features in economic life, closeness of cultures, everyday life order, absence of national prejudice, etc.

As a result of these conditions the number of ethnically mixed marriages in the ethnic contact zone studied was greater than the average in the Ukrainian SSR and Moldavian SSR.

We can see that the ethnic environment factor is decisive in the formation of ethnic membership concepts. Its influence is strong enough to be visible even in cases where the parental marriage was of one nationality. Most often, ethnic membership determination occurs after an individual realizes that he belongs to the ethnic community in which he lives.

Interethnic marriage promotes changes in ethnic self-awareness, influences everyday life and language functioning. Research on these phenomena and their interaction indicated that ethnically mixed marriages are one of the real conditions for the growth of two and multilanguage use; in ethnically mixed families these phenomena prevail whereas one language use is more characteristic of one nationality marriage.

Being reciprocally caused, interethnic marriage in the researched rayons and its ethnic results reflect the processes of an all-around friendship and development of various ethnic communities and testify to the high level of their international awareness.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Slavyano-Voloshskie Svyazi [Slavic-Walachian Ties], Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1978; "Formirovanie Moldavskoy Burzhuaznoy Natsii" [Formation of the Moldavian Bourgeois Nation], Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1978; P. I. Kushner (Knyshev), "Yetnicheskie Territorii i Yetchicheskie Granitsy" [Ethnic Territories and Ethnic Boundaries], Nauka, 1951; V.I. Naulko, "Razvitie Mezhyetnicheskikh Svyazey na Ukraine" [Development of Interethnic Ties in the Ukraine]. Naukova Dumka, 1975; V.S. Zelenchuk "Naselenie Moldavii" [Moldavia's Population], Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1973, and others.
2. See M.V. Ptukha, "Vybrani Tvory" [Selected Works]; Naukova Dumka, 1971, pp 86-95.
3. O.A. Gantskaya, L.N. Terent'eva, "Etnodemograficheskoye Issledovaniye Natsional'nykh Processov v Pribaltike" [Ethno-demographic Studies of National Processes in the Baltic Area], SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA(SE), 1965, No. 5; Yu.I. Pershitz, "O Metodike Sopostavleniya Pokazateley Odnatsional'noy i Smeshannoy Brachnosity" [Methods of Comparing One

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- Nationality and Mixed Marriage Indicators]. SE, 1967, No. 4; L. N. Teret'eva, "Opredelyeniye Svoey Natstional'noy Prinadlezhnosti Podrostkami v Natsional'no Smeshannykh Sem'yakh" [Determining National Membership by Young People from Mixed Nationality Families], SE, 1969, No. 3.
4. Yu. V. Aurtunyan, L.M. Drobyzheva, "Sotsial'no-Kul'turnoye Razvitiye i Sblizheniye Natsiy v SSSR na Sovremennom Etape" [Social-Cultural Development and Friendship of Nations in the USSR at the Present Time], Mysl', 1972; Yu. V. Bromley, "Yetnos i Yetnografia", [Ethnos and Ethnography], Nauka, 1973; "Sotsial'noe i Natsional'noe. Opyt Yetno-Sotsiologicheskikh Issledovaniy po Materialam Tatarskoy SSR" [Social and National. Results of Ethno-Sociological Research of Tartar SSR Material]. STATISTIKA, 1975; "Sovremennye Yetnicheskie Processy v SSSR" [Present-Day Ethnical Processes in the USSR]. Nauka, 1977 and others.
 5. See A. P. Ponomarev, "Mizhnatsional'ni Shlyuby ta Internatsionalizatsiya Pobutu Nassellenya URSR" [International Marriages and the Internationalization of Everyday Life in the UkrSSR], NARODNA TVORCHIST' TA ETNOHRAFIYA, 1977; L.V. Chuyko, "Braky i Razvody" [Marriages and Divorces] (Demograficheskoe Issledovanie na Primere Ukrainskoy SSR) STATISTIKA, 1975.
 6. According to the 1970 population census, ethnically mixed marriages among the Ukrainian rural population amount to 7 percent, in the Moldavian SSR 8 percent. See "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1970, v. VI. STATISTIKA, pp. 282, 294.
 7. P.I. Kushner (Knyshev), "Etnicheskiye Territorii i Etnicheskiye Granitsy", p. 32-34; L.P. Terent'eva, "Nekotoriye Storony Etnicheskikh Processov v Povolzhy, Priural'ye i na Yevropeyskom Severe SSSR" [Some Aspects of Ethnic Processes in Volga, Ural and European North Areas of the USSR], SE, 1972, No. 6, p. 50.
 8. Itogi Vsesoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1970, v. IV, pp. 164, 778.

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